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ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

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THE PICTS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

I.

THE HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES AND THEIR VALUE.

IT has been truly remarked by Professor Thorold Rogers, in a review of the Duke of Argyll's late work on Scotland, that, "for some reason or the other, the beginnings of authentic Scottish history are later than those of any European nation, though the sense of Scottish nationality is as keen, as vigorous, and as healthy as that of any race in the world." Until the reign of Malcolm Canmore we are not on firm historical ground, and it is not until that time that the welding into one nationality of the Saxon and Celtic elements of the kingdom of Scotland, for previous to that it was only the kingdom of Alban or Scotland north of the Forth, properly began, a welding which was assured only on the field of Bannockburn. There is but one native document bearing on Scottish history that can claim to any antiquity beyond the 11th century, and even that document can be claimed only with hesitation. The "Pictish Chronicle," which contains, first as preface, extracts, more or less adapted, from Isidore of Seville bearing on Scyths and Scots; secondly, a bare list of kings and reigns from the mythical Cruide to Bred, the last Pictish king, in the 9th century; and thirdly, a chronicle of the Scottish kings of Alban from Kenneth MacAlpin to Kenneth, son of Malcolm (reigned 977-995), where it closes with a blank space left for the number of years

that Kenneth reigned. The MS. (Colbertine, Paris), belongs to the 14th century, and was probably transcribed at York from some other earlier MS. or MSS. The earliest document may have been written at Brechin, which is mentioned in it as having been dedicated to the Lord by Kenneth, son of Malcolm, and, as the number of years he reigned is left blank, it is inferred that the document was written in Kenneth's reign. An anonymous document which "may" or "might" have been written in the 10th century in Scotland, but which is really found in a MS. written in England and preserved in Paris, is our earliest native chronicle for the history of Scotland! True, we might claim Adamnan, whose life of Columba was written in the beginning of the 8th century, and which contains important facts in Scottish history: though he was an Irishman, yet he was a Scotch ecclesiastic. The Book of Deer was doubtless written in the 12th century, when other documents are also forthcoming, but its references to historic facts for a generation or two previously make it a native document of especial value.

We have, however, to trust to outsiders for the most important facts in our meagre early history. Gildas, the Welshman, in the 6th century, makes scathing reference to the Picts and Scots who burst on the Romanised Britons, "the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north," landing from "their *curachs*, in which they crossed the Tithica valley, differing somewhat in manners, but inspired with the same avidity for blood, preferably shrouding their villainous faces with hair rather than clothing the parts of their bodies requiring it (*furciferos magis vultus pilis quam corporum pudenda pudendis proxima vestibus tegentes*)." Bede, the priest of Jarrow, in the early part of the 8th century, has much to tell us about Iona and the conversion of the Picts, and his authority is unimpeachable in regard to the facts he records. Later, in the 9th century, we have Nennius and "the stuff that goes by the name of Nennius," as Professor Rhys, in a moment of well-justified irritation, calls the work; for it is a collection of fact and fable of a most tantalising description. Additions were made to it by Saxons, Welsh, and Irish, and these contain considerable information, though requiring careful handling. The Irish annalists are of extremely high value for the

intricacies of Pictish and Scottish history before the 11th century—Tigernach and Flann Mainstrech in the 11th century, the Annals of Innisfallen in the 13th century, and those of Ulster in the 15th; but, as Sheriff Mackay says in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "this source of information has to be used with caution." The Colbertine MS. contains a later chronicle besides the Pictish one, dealing with the Scots, and belonging to the 12th century, and also a description of Scotland of the same period. The *Albanic Duan* is ascribed to the 11th century, but the earliest form of it is late Middle Irish; it gives a brief chronicle of the Scottish Kings from the eponymic "Briutus" to Malcolm Canmore. All documents bearing on Scottish history up to the time of Malcolm Canmore will be found collected in Skene's "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," excluding of course the classical writers, along with Gildas, Bede, Adamnan, and other outsiders who have written treatises of a similar kind. Scotland has nothing to compare with the Irish *Annals* and the Welsh *Triads*, nor has it anything equivalent to the ancient laws of the *Senchus Mor* or to the Welsh code of Howell Dda. Indeed, Scotland requires all the light it can borrow from these to illumine the darkness of its history.

So far we have been considering the post-classical writers and documents on Scottish history up to the beginning of authentic history in the 11th century. At the hands of Roman and Greek historians we shall find that Scotland has again fared badly. The classical writers refer in the most meagre and unsatisfactory terms to events and people in Scotland; none of them ever was in the country; and, besides, a great part of Scotland was never under Roman power, nor are we much better informed in regard to the portion of the country—that between the walls—which happened now and then to be part of Roman Britain. Provost Macandrew, who in our two last numbers has so admirably and concisely marshalled the arguments in favour of the Gaelic origin of the Picts, deals with the classical authorities in a way that forces to the front the question as to how far we are to trust the Roman and Greek writers. He labels a good many statements with the title of "travellers' tales"—such are the cannibalism, community of women, and even the tattooing which the classical writers assert as existing in the island in their time. In the circumstances, every

writer must be judged on his merits as a general writer of history and on his particular knowledge of Britain. The first and best is Cæsar. He was in Britain and saw the inhabitants that dwelt south of the Thames. What Cæsar saw he records faithfully; the facts which he records as matters of personal observation are to be accepted implicitly; his inferences need not be so accepted. A negro from Central Africa, though recording the sights of London as he saw them, could not describe them as they are, for he could only assimilate the information to what he already knew in his African home. The Gauls, Cæsar says, reckon time by nights and not by days, because they are descended from Dis Pater, the God of the Lower World. The inference here is quite wrong; the fact is quite right. So he states that Druidism was probably invented in Britain, because people went there to learn it thoroughly; but it will be seen how M. Gaidoz disposes of this argument on another page. Again, Cæsar describes the animals that were found in the Hercynian Forest; he evidently describes from hearsay for the most part. There are three wonderful animals; the unicorn *bos*, then the gigantic, goat-like, and branching-horned animal whose legs had no joints, and which hunters trapped by cutting the trees against which it reclined, for, when it fell, its jointless legs would not allow it to rise again, and, thirdly, the elephantine *urus*. We might dismiss this with a grin as a traveller's tale, but, yet, modern geology has shown that Cæsar had a considerable element of truth in all his descriptions. The first animal is now recognised as the *bos primogenus*, the second as the extinct Irish elk, and the third is the still extant auroch of Lithuania. We must deal with Cæsar—and so, too, in nearly like degree with Tacitus, Dio Cassius and Herodian—in a spirit of scientific patience, believing that there is some germ of truth in even the wildest statement made. It does seem absurd to assert that the people of Ireland ate human flesh, as Diodorus and Strabo say they were "reported" to do: St. Jerome repeats the same calumny about the Scottish tribe of the Atticoti, asserting next to personal observation, "I myself in my youth in Gaul saw the Atticoti, a British nation, that they feed on human flesh (Quid loquar de ceteribus nationibus quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Atticotos, gentem

Britannican, humanis vesci carnibus).” He does not say that he saw them do it; it is the *fact* he saw. Now a quotation of Pliny, coupled with our modern knowledge of early sacrifices*—what they meant and what at times they were—should make us pause ere we reject altogether this “wild” statement. There may be a grain of truth in it. Pliny says, in dealing with Magic rites, Druidism and the Magi of Persia, “All that is due to the Romans cannot be estimated highly enough, for they have abolished atrocities, wherein it was a most religious action to kill a man, and a highly salutary one also that a man should be eaten (*mandi vero etiam saluberrimum*).” On certain solemn occasions, tribes who have totems assemble, and, though at all other times they strictly abstain from killing or eating the totem animal, yet then they kill and eat it, incorporating into themselves bodily and spiritually their deity. This is, doubtless, the very origin of cannibalism.

We may deal in the same way with the statement made by Cæsar and reiterated by several classical writers, that the Britons had community of wives. A little patience here may unravel the difficulty. Cæsar distinguishes between the Britons who crossed from Belgic Gaul, “who differed little from the customs of Gaul,” and the Britons of the interior. We may take it for granted that the charge of community of wives does not apply to the Gaulish Britons, nor is it a custom that Cæsar, in his brief stay, could have actual cognisance of. He could see the men in their war-paint, for they all painted, he tells us, but such a detail of family arrangement as community of wives he could not easily meet with. Tacitus does not mention any such custom either in Roman or non-Roman Britain; indeed, he rather exaggerates the virtues of the Caledonians in his attempt to decry the vices of the Romans; it is a favourite trick of his. Dio Cassius repeats the accusation in Severus’ time in a very circumstantial manner, but he attributes the custom to the Caledonians. Severus enacted laws against adultery, of which no advantage was taken. “Wherefore the wife of one Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, is reported, after the treaty, to have said very facetiously to Julia Augusta, *quae ei earum licenter cum maribus commercium exprobrabat*: ‘*Multo melius nos necessitatibus naturae satisfacimus quam Romanae.*

* See Prof. Robertson’s Smith’s article on “Sacrifice” in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Nos enim aperte commercium habemus cum optimis, vos autem adulterium cum infimis committitis." Everything therefore points to the fact that some such marriage system did exist in Britain, and, as it was not among the Gallo-Britons, we have to fall back on the "Britons of the interior." This practically restricts the custom to the more northern parts of the island. But we are not dependent on the classical authorities alone. We have the result of the system in the Pictish law of succession, than which no fact is better established in Scottish history. The law that the succession should be in the female line indicates a low idea of marriage, one where maternity alone was certain and one in which the brother and sister's son succeeded rather than a man's own son. If the Pictish succession does not go to verify the fact recorded by classical writers in regard to community of wives or whatever it was, then the guiding light of anthropological science is useless in Scottish history. Such marriage systems are common among savage and barbarian tribes.

We are therefore inclined to accept the statements of the best Classical authorities—even to thankfully accept them. These best authorities are Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, Herodian, and Ammianus Marcellinus. And we must also vindicate Bede's character as against Provost Macandrew's strictures on his monkish conceits. The Provost makes Bede speak of five nations as existing in Britain, to suit the five books of Moses; he accuses him of dragging in the Latin as a fifth nation. If Bede had done such a thing, it certainly would be blameworthy, but it is only the absurd translation of Dr. Giles that makes Bede assert such a thing. Bede actually says, and says rightly: "This [Island] at present, according to the number of books in which the divine law is written, in the languages of five nations, studies and acknowledges one and the same knowledge of divine truth and sublimity; these are the languages of the Angli, Brittones, Scotti, Picti, and Latins." He does not say there are five nations, but he does say there are five languages. In another place he speaks of the "nations and provinces of Britain which are divided into four languages, viz.:—the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." And he ends his work by saying that these four nations are at present at peace; "the Picts have a treaty with the

English, and the Scots who inhabit Britain, content with their own bounds, attempt neither ambush nor treachery against the English nation." It is quite clear that Bede considered the Pictish a language by itself, quite distinct from Scottic, English, British, and Latin. There is no use blinking that fact; it does not admit of any doubt. And Adamnan's Life of Columba gives two instances where Columba had to deal with Picts through an interpreter. The question first is, Was it a Celtic language? If so, Was it a Gaelic or was it a British (Welsh) dialect? Provost Macandrew maintains that it was Gaelic. We intend to maintain and, as far as we can, to prove that it was a Celtic dialect allied to the British.

(To be continued.)

THE TRAGEDY OF CLACH-NAN-CEANN.

A SGEULACHD OF THE RANNOCH CAMERONS.

ST. MICHAEL'S graveyard (*Cladh-Michael*), with its weird surroundings of *Clach-nan-ceann* and *Tigh-na-dige*, is interesting to the antiquary as the scene of a notable tragedy that took place in the early clan history of Rannoch. It is a small square enclosure, situated on a piece of rough ground that rises slightly above the adjoining arable land, and comes in view on the right as you go up from the Black Wood through the district of Camghouran. Within that grey stone wall, in ground consecrated not by a bishop, but by the blood of three innocent children, slain before their mother's eyes by the cruel chief of the Clan Mackintosh, and whose bodies formed the first interment there, lie buried many generations of the Camerons of Rannoch. All the Camerons of Camghouran on the Croiscrag Estate, together with their relatives who reside in other districts, regard this graveyard as their proper burying-ground. They also venerate the curious old ruin of *Tigh-na-dige* as the first permanent Cameron habitation in Rannoch, and *Clach-nan-ceann* as the palladium or destiny stone of their race.

Having had occasion some time ago to accompany a funeral to *Cladh Mhichael*, I was so fortunate as to have along with me old Alastair Cameron, Kinloch-Rannoch, who was a native of Camghouran, and well skilled in all the traditions of the "Braes." When the rites of sepulture had been decently and reverently celebrated, as they invariably are by the good folks of that locality, it was quite a sight to see the tall and spare form of Alastair limping along (for he had the rheumatics in his limbs), and, like another "Old Mortality," pointing with his stick to where the various septs of the *Sliosgarbh* Camerons were sleeping beneath the sod. He said there were (1), the Camerons of *Clann-Iain-Bhioraich*; (2), the Camerons of *Clann-Ian-Cheir*; (3), the Camerons of *Sliochd-Uilleim*; (4), the Camerons of *Mac-Gillonie*; and (5), the *Eibhisich*, or the Nevis Camerons. These formed five distinct septs or sub-clans, each of which had its *Ceann-tighe*, who, on festive occasions, was supposed to take the chair at the head of the table. Alastair explained that there was another forming a sixth sept of Camerons in Rannoch, called the Mac-Martins, sprung from the House of Letterfinlay, in Lochaber; but, as these came to the country at a different period, and dwelt on the *Sliosmìn*, or north side of the loch, they did not bury their dead in *Cladh-Mhichael*.

Our guide drew our special attention to one tombstone on which the coat of arms of the Lochiel Camerons was emblazoned. Pointing to the hand holding the Lochaber axe, "This," said he, "was given to Lochiel on account of the bravery of *Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe 'chuir an ruaig air Masaintoisich*. Now, it was this same Mackintosh who killed the children that were buried in this *cladh*; and it was from this very spot that *Taillear Dubh na Tuaighe* set off for Badenoch to be revenged on the *Toiseach* for having done such a cruel thing in Rannoch."

Having examined the graveyard, with its rude memorials of so many bygone generations, I proceeded, under the guidance of Alastair, to see the two other curiosities of the place. They are situated about a score of yards to the west of the burying-ground, and at a somewhat higher elevation. On the right hand two rough boulders of whinstone at once claim our notice. The nearer one

is comparatively small; and so much of the top of it is flat and horizontal that it might be used as a seat. The other is very large and unshapely, and is on its north side firmly fixed in the ground. Alastair said there was a dispute as to which of these two stones was the scene of the tragedy; but he was himself inclined to think that it was against the larger stone that the heads of the little ones were dashed by the cruel Mackintosh. He pointed out that there were still marks to be seen on both stones of where the brave Camerons of Lochiel sharpened their swords and Lochaber axes at the command of *Tailear Dubh na Tuaighe*, before setting off to Badenoch to avenge the blood of the children; and perhaps some of them might have been killed on the one stone and some on the other. *Tigh-na-dige*, the old fortress of the Camerons, is now a shapeless ruin lying in the centre of an oval-shaped morass thickly overgrown with willows (*seilach*) and stunted birches. Alastair was of opinion that it had been a sort of *Crannog*, built with wooden stakes and interlaced with wicker work, which either the three Cameron brothers themselves had constructed, or discovered and taken possession of, in the middle of that small bog. The place of entrance was from the north-east side, looking towards the boulders. There is a small patch of land south-west from *Tigh-na-dige*, which is said to have been the first spot that was tilled on the *Sliosgarbh*. The soil is very black and loamy, and bears other marks of its having been long under cultivation. Alastair, as a local antiquary, related in connection with the various relics of the past all the traditions of the place, and declared that every part of the knoll on which we were standing was closely associated with stirring events in the early history of the Camerons of Rannoch. "Some people say," said Alastair, raising his stick and pointing all round with it, "that this hill had been a place of worship long before the Camerons came to Rannoch, that the priest used to stand beside the big stone, that the small stone was the stool of repentance, and that the worshipping congregation used to sit on the terrace below; but I don't believe a word of it, although it may be all very fine to speak and write about things that never happened."

I shall now endeavour to reproduce, in continuous narrative, that strange tale of adventure, love, jealousy, and murderous re-

venge, which throws such a lurid light over the state of society in Rannoch, in the sixteenth century :—

Marsali, daughter of Macgregor of Dunan, was a young woman of great beauty and attractiveness. She was tall and comely in her person; and her countenance, which was very handsome and fair, was set off to great advantage by her pearly white teeth and a pair of large dark eyes, which had in them an expression of mingled fire and loveliness. Tradition says that she sang the Gaelic songs of Rannoch with such exquisite feeling and melodiousness that not only were all rational creatures charmed, but her father's very cows felt so soothed under the sweet influence of her musical voice that they would give more milk to her than to anybody else! But with these and other excellent endowments of body and mind, she had some of the failings and weaknesses of her race. She inherited much of the pride of the Macgregors, who boasted that they were of "royal kin,"* and she had the unpardonable sin in a young woman in those days of daring to think and act for herself. These drawbacks, however, had the effect of only enhancing her womanly attractiveness; and young men of quality came from all parts of the country to admire the charms, and, if possible, win the heart and hand of this fair maid of Dunan.

Amongst all the suitors that came for the hand of Marsali, the man that was most favourably regarded by her parents and friends was The Mackintosh of Mackintosh, who was not only rich and powerful in possessions and men, but also laid claim to the proud distinction of being chief of the Clan Chattan in Badenoch. Macgregor of Ardlarich and Macgregor of Leargan warmly urged on their brother of Dunan the propriety of this match, both as desirable in itself and as a means of strengthening the position of the Macgregors on the *Shiosmin* of Rannoch, which they felt was by no means secure. "At present," argued they, "we are new settlers in the lands of the dispossessed *Clann Iain Bhuidhe*, and our next turn may be to be ourselves dispossessed

* I was once much amused to hear an old Rannoch man of the surname of MacAlpine remark on this claim of the Macgregors: "I consider," said he warmly, "that I have a far better right to regard myself as descended from the old royal family of Scotland than the best of the Macgregors have."

by others;* but if we form a close alliance with the powerful chief of Badenoch on our north side we shall easily be able to hold our own, and perhaps in course of time extend our influence and possessions in Rannoch." This argument had a powerful effect on the minds of Dunan and his better half; but they resolved, in the meantime at least, to leave the determination of the matter to the good sense and feeling of the damsel herself, who after all was the person most deeply concerned.

At first Marsali was disposed to regard rather favourably the attentions paid to her by the Mackintosh chief. She admired his lithe and athletic figure and dignified bearing; and was captivated by his courteous manners and insinuating address; nor was she at all inclined to esteem lightly the proud position which an alliance with such a man would place her in. But, by-and-bye, she began to find out certain dark traits in his temper and disposition, which had a tendency to cool any warmth of affection that might have arisen towards him in her heart; and a strange and unnatural dream, which she dreamed in those days, had the effect of turning her completely against him. This dream was so horrible that the very thought of it makes one shudder. She dreamed that she was sitting on a green hillock beside a big grey stone; that her bowels, protruding from her body, were lying out in front of her on the grass; and that a large black cat besmeared with blood was eating away at these, and fiercely growling over them. As she was looking on in great pain and quite helplessly, she thought she saw the savage face of the cat change into that of her suitor The Mackintosh. All of a sudden there appeared a man's arm and hand with a Lochaber axe, which came down with such force and precision that it cut off the cat's tail about the middle; whereupon the creature gave an unearthly yell and snarl which awoke the terrified maiden out of her sleep. This dream, which she could not help pondering over from day to day, produced in her mind an invincible dislike to her suitor, whose advances she now treated with marked coldness, if not aversion; and she told her parents privately, in answer to their remonstrances regarding this, that she would sooner suffer herself to be torn asunder by horses than to get married to that man!

* Menzies of Weem then held a Crown charter for the Sliósmin.

Great was the disappointment of the Macgregors when they found that Marsali was so determined against a match which they considered not only eligible and honourable, but also very much to their own advantage ; and they felt that something must needs be done. At a private conference held by the three brothers for discussing the situation of affairs, it was resolved, at the suggestion of Ardlarich, to recommend to the Mackintosh chief to take such measures with the refractory maiden as had been quite common in former times in the Highlands and elsewhere ; and, as dark hints were muttered to her from time to time as to what might possibly happen some of those days, the poor girl was placed, in reference to the future, in a horrible state of suspense and anxiety. Her situation gave rise to the following proverb :—"Iomagain nighean Dhunain fo chronan Mhicantoisich." "The anxiety of the maid of Dunan under the purring (croonin') of The Mackintosh (cat)."

The scene is now changed to a spot near the south-west corner of Loch Ericht, where three men, after having spent the former part of the day in hunting and fishing, were in the afternoon employed before a fire in cooking some venison and fish for their evening repast. They were splendid specimens of the Highlanders of those days. Tall and broad shouldered, their finely proportioned bodies and well developed limbs were set off to great advantage by the *feilidh mòr*, which was their ordinary hunting dress ; and their graceful features and bearing bespoke them to be of gentle blood. They were well armed, although their swords and bows and arrows were for the time being lying beside them on the green grass. The tartan they wore showed that they belonged to the Camerons of Lochiel.

"Do you think, Ewen," said William, addressing himself to the *Ceann-tighe*, "we shall be able to go home this evening to the *Sliosgarbh*?"

"Well," said Ewen, thoughtfully, "I don't know what may yet happen us this evening. When I shot that roe and was engaged in skinning it to-day I looked up and saw a white dove flying in great terror before a fierce hawk (*seobhag*) that pursued it ; and all at once the poor persecuted bird came towards me and sought shelter in my breast. But, curiously enough, when I tried with my hand I could not find it nor see it anywhere. Such

an incident was looked on by the olden people as the sign of a sudden change of circumstances, and perhaps some change may be near us now." The following triplet alludes to this :—

Rabhadh Eoghain aig Loch Eiricht,
Calaman a teich' bho'n speireag,
'S ag itealaich dh'ionnsaidh bhroillich.

Translated—

Ewen's warning at Loch Ericht,
A dove escaping from a hawk,
And fluttering towards his breast.

William and Iain gazed on their brother's handsome and expressive face with a sort of awe as he was relating this incident to them. Man, more especially when placed in circumstances of outward danger, is ever ready to clutch at any clue to a knowledge of the future, and this all the more eagerly if it happen to come through superhuman agency. It is this religious instinct of striving to penetrate the mystery of the unknown lying before and around him, more than even reason itself, that places a great fixed and impassable gulf between man and the lower animals; and even what is ridiculed as superstition in him is nothing more or less than religion wrongly apprehended.

Just as the brothers were about to sit down to their repast, they cast their eyes over the dreary and desolate moor that lies on the west side of Loch Ericht, and were startled by seeing in the distant skyline a company of seven men, evidently attracted by the fire and smoke, coming rapidly in their direction. As they drew nearer their kilts shewed that they were Mackintoshes, and that they were led by a plumed and plaided chief. Ewen hastily armed himself, and, having advanced a few paces, raised his sword and gracefully saluted the approaching company. Thereupon they stood stock still, and the Mackintosh chief, having advanced a few paces in front of his men, returned the salute with equal grace. The two leaders then stepped towards each other, bowed very elaborately, and held a parley. The tall and stately form of Ewen presented a striking contrast to the slim and wiry figure of the northern chief; but each saw in the other evidence of that finished politeness so necessary to the Highland gentleman of those times. The parley ended in Ewen inviting The Mackintosh and his men to lunch, an invitation which was very cordially accepted.

(To be continued.)

SIGMA.

THE RELIGION OF THE GAULS.

[BY M. H. GAIDOZ.]

II.

PRIESTHOOD.

HERE again Caesar shall be our guide. After making us understand that among the Gauls the people were reduced almost to the condition of slavery, that they had no initiative in anything, and that their opinion was consulted on no point, the conqueror tells us that there were two classes only of any account or any position. The one class was that of the knights, and the other was that of the Druids. "The latter deal with matters of religion; they have the charge of public and private sacrifices; and they interpret the religious traditions. To them a great number of youths have recourse for the sake of instruction, and they are in great honour among them. In fact, they settle almost all their disputes, both public and private; and if any crime has been committed, if any murder has taken place, or if there is any dispute about inheritance or boundaries, it is they again that decide in respect to them and settle the awards and the penalties: if any private person or any people abide not by their decree, they excommunicate them (*sacrificiis interdicunt*). This with them is a most severe punishment. Persons so excommunicated are counted in the number of the impious and the wicked; all keep out of their way and shun their presence and conversation, for fear that they may suffer disaster from contact with them; justice is not rendered at their suit, nor is any position of honour shared with them. Now, over all these Druids there presides one who has supreme authority among them. At his death, if any one of the others excels in dignity, he succeeds him, but if several have equal pretensions, the president is elected by the votes of the Druids, sometimes even they contend about the supreme dignity by force of arms. At a certain time of the year they assemble in session in a consecrated spot in the territories of the Carnutes, which is considered the central region of the whole of Gaul. Thither all who have any disputes come together from every side, and acquiesce in their judgments and decisions. The

institution is thought to have originated in Britain, and to have been thence introduced into Gaul, and even now those who wish to become more accurately acquainted with it generally repair thither for the sake of learning it. The Druids are accustomed to take no part in war, nor do they pay taxes together with the rest; they have exemption from military service, and are free of every other charge. Attracted by such advantages, many resort to their school even of their own accord, while others are sent by their parents and relations. There they are said to learn thoroughly a great number of verses. On that account some continue at their education for twenty years. Nor do they deem it lawful to commit those things to writing; though generally in other cases, and in their public and private accounts, they use Greek letters. They appear to me to have established this custom for two reasons; because they do not wish their system published among the people, and because they do not wish learners, by trusting to letters, to neglect the exercise of memory; since it generally happens that, owing to the safeguard of letters, they relax their care in learning as well as their memory. In particular they wish to inculcate this idea, that souls do not die, but pass after death from one person to another; and they think that by this means men are very much instigated to the exercise of bravery, the fear of death being despised. They have also much discussion concerning the stars and their motion, the magnitude of the world and the earth, nature and science, the force and power of the immortal gods, and they instruct the youth in them."* This thorough organisation of priesthood is not met with among the Germans, who, according to Caesar's first contrast of the two peoples, had no Druids.

The later writers add nothing of importance to Cæsar's account, unless perhaps that this priesthood was divided into classes, and that after the Druids proper were the soothsayers and the bards. Many volumes have been written on the organisation, the character and the so-called secret doctrine of the Druids; but the most important point was neglected; no account was taken of the intellectual state and of the priestly organisation of primitive epochs, and they were judged by our ideas instead of an attempt

* *Caesar De Bello Gallico*, VI., 13, 14.

being made to judge them from a contemporary point of view. We distinguish now-a-days the terms priest, sorcerer, and medical man, but in primitive social life (and even yet in the strata of our own social life that still remains primitive) these different conceptions are not distinguished, and they are confounded in the same name and in the same person. In fact, nature, when not understood by the light of science, is entirely the domain of the supernatural. The distinction between what belongs to nature and what belongs to the supernatural is ours, because the supernatural alone exists for primitive man. Man is surrounded by invisible powers; he is in contact with them when he is overtaken by the storm, when he is ill, and when his very cattle seem to suffer. Against them he will defend himself only by making an appeal to other supernatural forces. There are in his tribe or in his village men who understand invisible spirits, who know how to appease them or master them by their charms, by their rites, and by their talismans. These men are feared and respected; they are applied to, and their mediation is tried to conciliate the good deities and to banish the evil deities, to raise spells and to chase away spirits (for disease is a possession). *Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica et privata procurant, reliquias interpretantur.* This is priesthood at its origin, such as we see it among primitive people, such as we find it at the present age among the savage tribes of Africa, Siberia, and America, with this exception that the priests do not everywhere form fraternities. The primitive priest is a sorcerer, half under hallucination and half charlatan, who predicts the future, who by his incantations "makes rain and fine weather" (the French proverbial expression recalls this ancient belief), who conjures and drives off the spirits, who knows the virtues of simples and gives them a new virtue by the grimaces with which he gathers them. The priest, in a word, is the "agent" of the supernatural, and as the supernatural is everywhere, the priest is at once sorcerer, herbalist, and medical man. This conception of the cosmogony is not extinct even in France; we do not speak solely of the sorcerers and the *mèges*,* who are in

[* *Mège* is a term used in many of the French provinces to designate a man who professes to have a special knowledge of maladies, and to possess the secret of their cure—a sort of "wise man." Trans.]

more than one locality the later representatives of the Druids ; but we could name villages where the country people still regard their priest as a sorcerer.

That is what the Druids were ; and it is thus we must explain several facts, the analogies of which are met with in all times and in all countries, facts which divers ancient writers cited as a curiosity, and which historians, ignorant of mythology, have taken for the veritable rites of the "Druidic" religion. There is, for example, the culling of the mistletoe—there are the virtues attributed to such and such a plant—the magic power of certain stones, as, for instance, the "egg of the serpent." But even now-a-days stones are likewise regarded as talismans ; even now-a-days our peasants know the supernatural virtues of each plant and in several cases the magic fashion of culling them ; even now-a-days many plants bear throughout the country districts the names of saints, which indicate in some sort their sacred character. To make the culling and the virtues of the mistletoe, after Pliny the Elder,* one of the principal data of the "Druidic religion," is as false and as puerile as it would be to represent Christianity by the culling and the wonderful use of "all the herbs of St. John."

But the Druids were something more, and that fact arises out of their sacred character : they were judges. They judged between individuals, and they judged between peoples, facts which show how great was their authority. The sanction of their judgment was all religious ; people bowed before their award as before the utterance of gods, and he who did not give way was excommunicated. This authority of opinion which the Druids exercised in Gaul has its parallel in that which the *brehons* of independent Ireland (the Irish word *brehon* means "judge") exercised. The organisation of the *brehons* of Ireland, which survived also during the first centuries of the English domination to such an extent that the English left the internal organisation of the Irish clans untouched—this organisation, we say, brings in several respects to mind the organisation of the Druids of Gaul. The *brehons* formed a class which became hereditary, having, as office and function, from father to son, the dispensing of justice, and they had schools of law and literature. Verses were learnt there, formulæ,

* *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 95.

often scarcely intelligible, of ancient legal usages, and the commentaries which several generations of *brehons* had attached to them. Sons of chiefs often received their education with them. The difference between the *brehons* and the Druids is that, the *brehons* not being priests, their judgment had no supernatural sanction; it had only the authority of an opinion, the force of an arbitration. It seems, however, that their awards were generally accepted out of respect for their traditional authority. There is, in fact, reason to believe that they had been reduced to merely judicial functions by the conversion of Ireland to Christianity, and that before this period they had, along with their priestly functions, the full extent of their prestige. At this primitive epoch they were, under the name of *filí*, at the same time priests, poets, historians, and judges, and, like the Druids, they had a supreme head.

By Druids we must then understand a class of men, we should almost say a clergy, whose members were at the same time judges, priests, sorcerers, physicians, and medical men. These men must have been less ignorant than the people who revered and obeyed them: some of them even might have been a species of free-thinking spirits performing their sacrifices and other rites in order to edify their followers and carry on their profession. Thus at Rome the haruspices, although they had ceased to believe in the efficacy of their ceremonies,* had nevertheless not discontinued them, and Varro observed calmly that there are some things which it is good that the people should believe, although they may not be true. It is possible, then, that the Druids rose above the *religiones* which they expounded and practised, especially when civilisation commenced to spread in Gaul by contact with the Greek colonies on the Mediterranean coast. It is possible that some of them may have been initiated into the systems of Greek philosophy, and may have tried to diffuse them around them. It might thus be explained why, according to the strange statement of Caesar, they taught a sort of metempsychosis. But whatever may have been their own particular doctrine in this respect, it was certainly not the belief of the Gauls. The Gauls, like all barbarian peoples, believed in the immortality of the indi-

* Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, I. 71.

vidual, that is to say, in the continuation in another world of the life which had been led on earth. Two facts establish this belief in an incontrovertible fashion: the funeral rites—the dogs, horses, and slaves which were sacrificed at death in order that they might continue to serve them in the other world; and, secondly, the nature of certain contracts: money was borrowed on condition of refunding it in the other world.

Be this point of doctrine as it may, from the sole fact that the Druids formed a corporation, and a corporation superior to the people who believed and revered them, it was natural that ignorance should attribute to them mysterious and marvellous doctrines. It was so in all ages, and to quote only one example, we know all that the credulity of the Middle Ages related of the Order of Templars. It is so much the more natural that this opinion should have been held regarding the Druids, because they necessarily had craft secrets for their incantations, predictions, charms, etc., secrets which the common people must not know. The Druids might also have arrived at empiric knowledge of some natural phenomena, and added lustre to their prestige by this knowledge. "Gaul has its Druids," says Cicero,* "and I knew Divitiacus the Æduan: he professed knowledge of the system of nature which the Greeks call physiology, and he predicted the future, partly by augury and partly by conjecture." A little amusing physics, that is what the secret doctrine of the Druids probably was. That is the foundation of priesthood among all ignorant and savage peoples, among the shamans of Siberia as among the sorcerers of Central Africa, among the jugglers of the Red-Skins as among the marabouts of Algeria.

There is no need to seek for the origin of such infantile doctrines; they spring up spontaneously in a credulous medium, among men who live mid the supernatural. According to Caesar, it *was thought* that the system of the Druids came from Great Britain. But Caesar confines himself to quoting an *opinion*; it seemed to him confirmed by the fact that people went into Britain in order better to study the doctrine of the Druids. This fact might have had another cause. Great Britain, being less civilised than Gaul, remained more believing; the religion was more alive

* *De Divinatione*, I., 41.

there, the Druids more respected. It was natural that sometimes young people should be sent to perfect themselves in the school of the insular Druids. The opinion reported by Caesar is all the less probable in that Great Britain having been peopled by Gaul, the mother country should have thus received its beliefs and its religious organisation from its colony! And before this time it had then been without religion and without priesthood! That is not credible, and Caesar's authorities were probably mistaken in regard to the origin of very intimate and, doubtless, very ancient religious relations. And, besides, this hypothesis is implicitly contradicted by Tacitus, who is a very weighty authority on Great Britain, and who, on the contrary, connects the belief of the Britons with that of the Gauls. "A general survey inclines me to believe that the Gauls established themselves in an island so near to them. Their religious rites and superstitious beliefs may be found among the Britons."*

We have nothing to say of the name of the Druids, because the meaning and origin of it are unknown. It has nothing in common with the name of the oak, and this etymology was an illusion of the Greeks, who connected the name with their word *drūs* "oak." This name is met with in Irish under the form *druí* or *drai*, gen. *druad*, nom. pl. *druid*, which has the meaning of "sorcerer." The Irish sorcerers, in spite of their name of Druids, did not possess the political and social importance of the Druids of Gaul, and the high functions of judges and learned men of the latter were filled by the *filé*, reduced later on to the rank of *brehons*. The name of the Druids of Gaul is known to us only through the historians; it is not met with in the Latin inscriptions. An Irish funeral menhir (standing stone) does indeed bear the inscription *IVVENE DRVIDES*, i.e., "[This is the stone or the tomb] of the young Druid," but this inscription is possibly false. There was an inclination to see the feminine *drúis*, "druidess," in an inscription found at Metz (Orelli, 2200); but this inscription, now lost, is only known by ancient readings that are very questionable. If there were Druidesses, this name certainly designated sorceresses or female diviners. The question is mooted only in writers of the late Latin epoch (Lampridius

* Agricola, II.

and Vopiscus). They are said to have predicted to Diocletian his accession to the empire; the whole thing is simply the story of the witches in Macbeth: "Diocletian, thou wilt be emperor!"

The Druids disappeared almost without the notice of history. A short expression from Suetonius,* "Claudius entirely abolished the cruel and savage religion of the Druids, which, under Augustus, had already been forbidden to citizens, (that is to say, to Gauls become Roman citizens)," and another from Pliny,† "Tiberius suppressed the Druids,"—that is all we know with respect to this matter. It is probable that by that we must understand the suppression of their human sacrifices. Through the Roman conquest, the Druids certainly lost their political and social importance; they no longer enjoyed exemption from public charges and taxes, and they had ceased to dispense justice. The riches of their temples, filled with gold by the piety of the faithful, had been secularised by Cæsar for his own profit. They had no longer any authority beyond that of the prestige of an ancient religion; doubtless Gauls attached to their traditions and their beliefs still came to beg them to judge between them, just as the *brehons* still acted as judges after the English conquest, and the emperors had to prohibit the Druids from thus dispensing a justice which the parties accepted as the English Kings prohibited the *brehons*. The Gauls doubtless continued their human sacrifices. The Roman administration could not permit it any more than the English administration permits analogous sacrifices in India. But in forbidding them it no more proscribed the Druids than the English have proscribed the Brahmins in forbidding the *suttees*. That is what we must understand by the suppression of Druidism. The Druids continued to do innocent sacrifices for the pious who still came to seek them; they subsisted as sorcerers. Doubtless, like all clergy who have lost their privileges and their property, whose importance diminishing, and the numbers of their faithful melting away, the Druids regretted the ancient regime and had not lost all hope. During the Gaulish insurrection of Civilis, they are seen to encourage the revolt by their intrigues and by their predictions. Just then a fire had destroyed the Capital of Rome. It was "a sign of the

* Claudius, Chap. 25.

† *Hist., Nat.*, xxx., 4, 13.

wrath of heaven and a presage that the sovereignty of the world was passing to the nations beyond the Alps. Such were the vain and superstitious predictions of the Druids.* M. Fustel de Coulanges has very justly explained and defined the discredit of the Druids and the disappearance of their cult:† "Tacitus speaks of them under Vespasian [that is the passage we have already quoted] without saying that their existence was contrary to the law, and nothing shows that they were pursued as public enemies. There is then no proof that Druidism was entirely interdicted; what is more probable is that being lowered from its political and judicial power through the establishment of the Roman authority, deprived of the grand and terrible ceremonies of its cult, interdicted to those of the Gauls who wished to be Roman citizens, and deserted by all who formed part of the higher classes, it was reduced to be the religion of the more ignorant and vulgar, and it fell to the rank of an insignificant superstition."

It is thus that at all times religions end. The religion of the Gauls disappeared as a religion, but a number of its practices and rites were preserved and held their ground, even against Christianity and the prescriptions of Councils. The *pagani* (a word which is translated by "peasant" or by "pagan") did not stop their practices. We quote only some examples to show the indomitable persistence of tradition.—Gregory of Tours informs us that the inhabitants of Gaul represented in wood and in bronze the limbs and members in which they suffered and for which they asked cure; they placed them in a temple. There have, in fact, been found votive limbs and members in bronze within the ruins of several Gallo-Roman temples, and in other consecrated places. This usage is preserved in the sanctuaries of local saints, who have undoubtedly taken the place of the ancient gods of the country, or who, more correctly, are the ancient gods Christianised.—Another example: Cæsar spoke above of the sacrifice which consisted in burning men all alive inside human

* Tacitus, *Histories*, IV., 54.

† *Histoire des Institutions politiques de la France*, I., 2nd Ed., p. 65 n. [See another exposition, by M. F. de Coulanges, of the disappearance of the Druids in *Revue Celtique*, IV., pp. 37-59. Trans.]

images of wickerwork. This usage has continued without interruption to our age, with the exception that, by a substitution frequent in the history of sacrifices, animals have taken the place of men. It was in many places in France the practice to throw into the fire of St. John hampers and baskets of wickerwork containing animals—cats, dogs, foxes, and wolves. Last century even in several villages it was the mayor or aldermen who caused a dozen or two cats in a basket be sent to be burnt in the fire of joy of St. John. This custom existed at Paris, and it was suppressed only at the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. The feast of St. John succeeded to the place of the feast of the summer solstice. We may therefore believe that the cruel sacrifice of which Cæsar speaks took place at this date.—The worship of fountains is also a Celtic cult surviving throughout the ages. A number of Christian churches have been built near a source consecrated by the tradition of the country, and in many a place, now-a-days even, the peasants go to invoke supernatural aid beside fountains where Gaulish *ex-votos* or votive offerings have been found.

There does not exist upon the religion of the Gauls any general work that can be recommended with confidence. Persons who wish to study by themselves these questions must consult the monographs that are scattered in the following publications:—*Mémoires et Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*; *Revue Archéologique*; *Bulletin Monumental*; *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*; *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne (Archéologie)*; *Fahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthamsfreunden im Rheinkande*; *Revue Celtique*.

THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.]

(Continued.)

THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

VIII.—TORQUIL MACLEOD, eight of Lewis, has a charter under the Great Seal—"Torquilo Macleod de Lewes, de officio balivatus omnium terrarum regi in Troternish, jacen. infra insulam de Skye, in forisfacturam Johannis, olim domini insularum, tenend. dicto Torquilo et hæredibus suis inter ipsum et Catharinam Campbell, fororem Archibaldi comitis de Argyll, legitime procreand quibus deficientibus, regi et hæredibus suis revertend datum apud novum castrum de Kilkerran in Kintyre. 28vo. Junii, 1498."

Torquil Macleod, by the death of his father, now Lord of Lewis, in the summer of 1498, accompanied by Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, paid his homage to James IV. at the head of Loch Kilkerran, where the king held a Court at a castle recently erected by him. In October, 1498, Torquil has a charter under the Great Seal granting him the office of Bailliary of Trotternish, with eight merks of the land, described as being then in the hands of the Crown by the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, though only in August, two months previously, a grant of the same Bailliary, with two uncates of the land now given to Macleod of Lewis, were made by a similar charter to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan.*

On the liberation of Donald Dubh Macdonald of the Isles from his confinement in the Castle of Inchconnel, he repaired at once to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, who had married Catherine, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, and sister of Donald Dubh's mother. Macleod took him under his protection, warmly espoused his cause, and at once set about to secure for him the support of the other West Island chiefs in his efforts to establish himself as Lord of the Isles. Through the Earl of Argyll, Macian of Ardnamurchan, and Stewart of Appin, who were at the time in regular communication with the Court, the king soon heard of Donald Dubh's escape and Torquil Macleod's support

* Reg. of the Great Seal, xiii., 305 and 377.

of his claims. Determined, if possible, to put an immediate stop to the movement, Torquil was charged, under the penalty of high treason, at once to deliver up the person of Donald Dubh, described in the charge as then at Macleod's "rule and governance." No attention was paid to the Royal demands; Torquil was formally denounced as a rebel, and all his possessions were forfeited. Directions were in 1552 given in a commission to the Earl of Huntly, Lord Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, to expel all "broken men" from the Lewis, which meant, in the disturbed state of affairs at the time, the expulsion of the whole population of the island. Macleod's answer was at once to proclaim Donald Dubh as Lord of the Isles. In the meantime he induced most of the Highland chiefs to join in the insurrection, among others Maclean of Duart and Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, both of whom were in 1504 declared traitors and had their estates forfeited to the Crown.

In 1505 most of the leaders of the insurrection made their submission to an expedition conducted by the King in person and the confederacy of the Island chiefs was dissolved. Torquil Macleod, however, with a few others, who had no hope of the Royal pardon being extended to them, still held out, and in 1506 a second expedition was rendered necessary. The Lord of Lewis was solemnly forfeited in his life and property in Parliament, and for the purpose of carrying the sentence into execution the Earl of Huntly, in 1506, proceeded at the head of a considerable force as far as the Lewis; the Castle of Stornoway was besieged and finally taken, and the whole of the island was subdued. But whether Torquil himself was killed or effected his escape it is impossible to say; for we find no further trace of him. His lands of Assynt and Coigeach were given in life-rent to Y Mackay of Strathnaver, who took a prominent part in the expedition against him. On the 29th of April, 1508, James IV. commanded the Bishop of Caithness, Ranald Alansoun of Clanranald, and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, to let for five years to sufficient tenants the lands of the Lewis and Waternish in Skye, which were forfeited by Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, and on June 7th they received further instructions to proceed to Lewis on the same business, taking their directions from Alexander, Earl of Huntly.

Torquil Macleod married first Catherine Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, named as his wife in the charter granted to Macleod in 1498 above quoted, apparently without issue. He married, secondly, a daughter of John Cathanach Macdonald of Islay and the Glynns, and widow of Donald Gallach, third, and mother of Donald Gruamach, fourth of Sleat, with issue—

1. John Mac Torquil,* who was excluded from the succession on his father's forfeiture, and again when the estates were restored in 1511 to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. He, however, succeeded on the death of his uncle in getting possession, which he held during the remainder of his life, as will be seen hereafter.

In 1511, Lewis and the other estates of the family were given, to the exclusion of the direct male heir, by charter under the great seal, to

IX.—MALCOLM MACLEOD, brother of the forfeited Torquil, who is described as *Malcolmo Makloid filio et heredi quondam Roderico M'Cloid*. He is granted "the lands and castle of Lewis, and Waternish in the Lordship of the Isles, with other lands, erected in his favour into the barony and lordship of Lewis, the place and castle of Stornochway to be the chief messuage."† In 1515, when the Regent Duke of Albany commissioned John Macian of Ardnamurchan to reduce to obedience the inhabitants of parts of the Isles who had taken part with Sir Donald of Lochalsh in his attempt to gain the Lordship of the Isles, and to promise the less violent of them the favour of the Crown and remission for their past crimes, provided they made their submission, promised obedience in future, and made restitution to those who had suffered by their conduct, Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis was one of those specially exempted from the Royal clemency. He is again on record in 1517.

* Gregory [p. 131] speaks of Donald Gruanach as uterine brother of John Mac Torquil, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm, the present [1528] Lord of Lewis. In a footnote he adds that Donald Gallach's "mother was first married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis." She must, however, have been his second wife, and Donald Gallach's widow, for the latter was killed in 1506, and Catherine of Argyll is named as Macleod's wife in the charter of 1498; she lived until after 1506, the date of Donald Gallach's death.

† Reg. of the Great Seal XVII., No. 16; and Reg. of the Privy Council IV., folio 126.

In 1518-19 Sir Donald of Lochalsh, accompanied by the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay, invaded Ardnamurchan, where, by pre-concerted arrangement, they met Alexander Macdonald of Islay, united their forces, and attacked Macian, whom they overtook at Craig-an-Airgid, in Morvern, where he was defeated and slain with two of his sons, John Suaineartach and Angus, and many of his followers. Sir Donald died very soon after this raid, and we can find nothing further regarding Malcolm Macleod, who appears to have died about 1528.

From the date of the raid to Ardnamurchan till about 1532 the lands and barony of Lewis were taken possession of and held by John, son and direct male representative of Torquil Macleod forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm. On the death of his uncle, whose son Roderick was a minor, John Mac Torquil, aided by Donald Gruamach of Sleat and his followers, seized the whole Island. The vassals of the barony followed his banner, and, though excluded from the succession by his father's forfeiture, they acknowledged him as their natural leader by right of birth, and he was able to keep possession of the lands and the command of the Siol Torquil during the remainder of his life. In 1538 his name appears among nine of the Highland chiefs who made offers of submission to the King through Hector Maclean of Duart.

John left no male issue, but after his death the claims of his daughter, who afterwards married Donald Gorm Macdonald, fifth of Sleat, were supported by his kindred, and the Clan Donald of Sleat.

Writing of this John Mac-Torquil, under date of 1532-39, Gregory says, "that chief, the representative of an elder, though forfeited branch of the family of Lewis, had obtained possession of the estates and leading of his tribe; and although he did not hold these by any legal title, the claims of his daughter, after his death, were far from contemptible, especially when supported by the influence of the Clandonald. A compromise seems to have been entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari Macleod, the legal heir of the Lewis, as formerly held by Malcolm Macleod, his father, and the last lawful possessor."*

* *Highlands and Isles*, p. 144.

Malcolm Macleod married Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir.
2. Malcolm Garve, progenitor of the Macleods of Raasay.
3. Norman, from whom the Macleods of Eddrachilles.

In 1532, on the death of his nephew John MacTorquil, who had been in undisturbed possession since Malcolm's death,*

X.—RODERICK MACLEOD succeeded to the lands and command of the Macleods of Lewis, in terms of an arrangement arrived at between him and Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, who had married Margaret, daughter of John MacTorquil. In terms of this arrangement, Roderick undertook to assist Donald Gorm in driving the Macleods of Dunvegan, who again managed to gain possession of Troternish, from that contested district. It is also alleged that Roderick became bound to support Donald Gorm in his attempts to establish himself in the Lordship of the Isles and Earldom of Ross.

In May, 1539, Macdonald, accompanied by Macleod and his followers, invaded the lands of Troternish and laid them waste, after which, taking advantage of Mackenzie of Kintail's absence from home, they, with a large body of followers, made a raid upon Kinlochewe and Kintail, and attempted to take the Castle of Eilean Donain, on which occasion Donald Gorm was killed by an arrow shot from the walls of the stronghold.

On the 2nd of April, 1538, James V. granted to Roderick Macleod, the son and heir of the deceased Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, the nonentry and other dues of the lands and barony of the Lewis, from the 30th of June, 1511, till a year after the date of the grant.† When the King, on his famous visit to the Isles in 1540, visited the Lewis, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met him, and they were commanded to accompany him in his progress southward. In 1541 King James V. granted Roderick and Barbara Stewart, his affianced spouse, the lands,

* Malcolm was buried in the Churchyard of Ui, in the immediate vicinity of Stornoway, where many of the Lewis chiefs are interred, "and particularly Malcolm, son of Roderick Macleod, Lord of Lewis, who died in the reign of James V. His tomb is still visible, and the inscription is entire, with the exception of the date."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 4.

† Reg. of the Privy Council, Vol. XI. folio 66.

island and barony of Lewis, with the castle and other lands, resigned by Roderick, when the whole was erected anew into the free barony of Lewis.

We find Roderick's name, on the 28th of July, 1545, among the seventeen of the Barons and Council of the Isles appointed as plenipotentiaries for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English King, to whom, at this time, they had been arranging to transfer their allegiance, and in consequence of which they had shortly before been charged by the Regent Arran with rebellious and treasonable proceedings, and threatened with utter ruin and destruction, from an invasion by "the whole body of the realm of Scotland, with the succours lately come from France," for their attempts to bring the whole Isles and a great part of the mainland under the obedience of the King of England, in contempt of the authority of the Crown of Scotland. On the 5th of August following these Barons were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of four thousand men and one hundred and eighty galleys, where, in presence of the Commissioners sent by the Earl of Lennox, and of the leading officials of the town, they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, at the command of the Earl of Lennox, who was acknowledged by them all as the true Regent and second person of the Realm of Scotland. It was in this capacity and for this reason that they agreed to act under his directions in their treasonable and unpatriotic conduct on this and other occasions. On the 17th of August in the same year he had, with Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan and forty others, a remission from that date to the 1st of November following, that they might go to the Regent and Lords of the Privy Council for the purpose of arranging as to their affairs.

On the death of Donald Dubh, without lawful male issue, many of the Island chiefs adopted as their leader James Macdonald of Islay, though his pretensions to the Lordship of the Isles were far inferior to those of Donald Gorm Og of Sleat, who was then a minor. Among those who opposed Islay and who soon afterwards succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the Scottish Regent, we find Roderick Macleod of Lewis, Macleod of Harris, Macneill of Barra, Mackinnon of Strath, and Macquarrie of Ulva. Roderick is, however, in 1547, absent from the battle

of Pinkie, though several of the other Island lords responded to the call of the Regent Arran on that disastrous occasion, but Macleod appears to have been forgiven in 1548 on easy terms with several others outlawed along with him for not joining the Regent's forces in the previous year when commanded to do so. He is, however, again in trouble within a very short interval. In 1551 Archibald Earl of Argyll was commissioned to pursue with his men Roderick Macleod of the Lewis for "obteening" certain persons out of his lands, and in 1552 Arran determined, on the advice of Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, to establish order among the Highlanders. With this object he summoned all the chiefs to meet him at Aberdeen on the 17th of June. Most of them submitted to the conditions imposed, either there or in the following July at Inverness, but in consequence of the disputes which occurred at his time between Arran and the Queen Dowager, regarding the Regency, the Highlanders again broke out. The Queen Dowager assumed the Government in June, 1554, when she at once ordered the Earls of Huntly and Argyll to proceed by land and sea to the utter extermination of the Macdonalds of Clanranald and of Sleat, the Macleods of Lewis, and their associates, who had failed to present the hostages demanded of them for good conduct and loyalty in future. The expedition seems, from various causes, to have turned out a complete failure. The Queen Dowager was determined, however, to secure order among the Highlanders, and in April, 1555, a process of treason was commenced against Roderick Macleod of the Lewis. In the following June a commission was granted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole against the islanders, but soon after, in the same year, Macleod submitted and made certain offers to the Privy Council through Argyll, in consequence of which the Queen Regent granted him a remission "for his treasonable intercommuning with various rebels, and for other crimes."

After this he appears to have led a more peaceful life for several years, for we do not again find any trace of him in the public records until he is summoned with several others, by proclamation, on the 20th of September, 1565, to join the Earl of Athole in Lorn to put down the Earl of Murray's rebellion, arising out of

his opposition to the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Lord Darnley. This rebellion, however, collapsed, and there was no necessity to send the royal forces to Lorn after all. In 1572, during Roderick's life, James VI. granted to Torquil Conanach Macleod, described in the charter as "the son and apparent heir of Roderick Macleod of Lewis," and to the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Gillicallum Garbh Macleod of Raasay, and his male heirs, and to Torquil's male heirs whomsoever bearing the Macleod surname and arms, the lands and barony of Lewis, which Roderick had resigned, reserving the life-rent to himself on condition that he and Torquil should not again commit any crime against the King.*

(To be continued.)

THE EVIL EYE.

THE possessor of the "evil eye" can throw some baleful magic influence over the object which, wittingly or unwittingly, attracts his attention. The belief that some people possess such a power is world-wide and world-old. Classical writers make unmistakeable reference to the evil eye—the *obliquo oculo* of Horace, for instance, and from China and India in the east to Ireland in the west the belief is actively existent in modern times. In India, Turkey, and Egypt, talismans are kept about children to ward off the influence of the evil eye. In Roumania you must not say a baby is pretty, or that anyone looks well without spitting on the ground, and in the Highlands in similar circumstances they like to hear some such expression made use of as "Cha ghabh mo shuil air" (may my eye not take on him). Witches, of course, possessed the fatal gift, but even they were not more dreaded than those persons who were reputed to have it, and did not know that such was the case. Such people were a constant danger to their neighbours, and their evil eye could even take effect upon their own property at times. A correspondent from Lochalsh says—"One possessing

* Register of the Privy Council, Vol XL., folio 65.

an evil eye is very dangerous, especially to fair people. Such persons are supposed to make people sick, and the worst of the sickness is that no doctor can cure it. There is no great pain caused. But one feels drowsy, and dwindles and pines away little by little until he becomes a mere skeleton." In the case of cattle, the milk is taken from the cows, while sickness, disease, and accidents fall thick on all other kinds of cattle. Even inanimate property, such as furniture, weapons, or food material, may be affected. The same correspondent gives us two cases to the point. A woman, reputed to possess an evil eye, came one day into a house in the village of Portchullin, in order that some one might row her over the ferry. A little boy about five years old, fair and beautiful to see, stood beside his mother. Whenever the woman entered she said, "What a nice little boy you have!" In a moment the boy fell down and foamed about the mouth till he was almost choked. It was not till one of the orthodox cures was resorted to that he recovered. In the same village, at another time, a woman expressed admiration for some chickens which a neighbour had, and in a moment one of the chickens jumped into a pot of hot water and was killed. There was no doubt, then, but that woman had an evil eye.

There are, at least, two methods of curing persons or animals affected by the evil eye. The first cure is the repeating of a rhyme over the person that is unwell, or, if the person be not present, a bit of his garments will do as well. In this case, money must be given to the expert who tries the cure, or otherwise the rhyme or duan would be of no effect. The second and most popular cure is by the "silver" water, and the charm is known technically as "*uisg airgid*," or water of silver. A wooden vessel is procured, and in the case of cattle the milking cog is the proper utensil. In this a coin of silver is placed—some place therein one coin each of gold, silver, and copper, and the water must be taken from a stream below a bridge over which "living and dead" pass. The person procuring the water should not divulge his purpose to anyone, and in "lifting" the water from the stream the Trinity must be invoked. The water is then brought to the sick person, and he has to drink of it thrice, and in some places the water is first of all dashed on the patient with-

out sign or warning. In any case, the rest of the water is poured out, and if the coin of gold sticks to the bottom of the vessel, the evil eye is the cause of the sickness. The water was sprinkled upon and offered to the animals affected. Invocation of the Trinity always accompanied this part of the ceremony.

The above is the general method all over the Highlands, but the following elaborate plan of cure, which we found in operation in Badenoch, we must not omit. A wooden milk cog, with three hoops keeping it together, must be got. A coin of silver, preferably a sixpence, is placed in it. Then the person starts for water to a ford through which the dead and living pass ("bialath beo agus mairbh.") Then the water is "lifted" into the cog with a spoon, three spoonfuls above the ford and three below, and every spoonful is accompanied by invocation of the Trinity. The person goes home, and then passes the cog and its contents three times round the chimney chain or pot-hanger ("slabhraidh") towards the right hand or sunwise. Then the water is placed in a ladle, coin and all, and passed round the head of the child three times sunwise, commencing at the right shoulder, and each time the child is made to drink a mouthful of the water in passing. This also, as in the case of lifting the water and passing it round the chain, is done with invocation of the Trinity. Thereafter the water is turned out of the ladle, and if the coin sticks at the bottom of it, then it is a clear case of "evil eye." In the case of cattle, the ceremony is the same, only, instead of their drinking three mouthfuls, the water is sprinkled on them. The antiquity of this particular form of the charm is proved by a ford being requisite, rather than the more modern bridge, and its further enjoining the three "sunwise" turns.

This superstition is still very much believed in. The latest case that has come to our knowledge is one from a parish in Skye. There a schoolboy, a handsome young lad, ingratiated himself in the eyes of a reputed witch, and her evil eye unwittingly fell upon him. He took to his bed, and fell into a comatose sleep, from which he could not be awakened. The mystic silver water was procured, and the boy was forced in a half-awake state to drink of it. When the drinking of it was over, he at once shook off his lethargy, and was straightway as well as ever. An intelligent

student, who was then the boy's companion, narrates the story with full confidence in the efficacy of the cure. The incidents of the cure are correctly enough what he states them to be, and doubtless it was after doing a service to the witch that the boy got unwell, but the logic of the whole matter belongs to the "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" category.

GEORGE, FOURTH EARL OF CAITHNESS OF THE SINCLAIR LINE.

[BY GEORGE M. SUTHERLAND, F.S.A. SCOT., WICK.]

(Continued.)

QUEEN MARY herself was not by any means considered innocent as to the death of Darnley. If she had entertained any real sorrow for him, she would never have so soon after his death professed such a public attachment for the worthless Earl of Bothwell. But Darnley's assassination aroused the suspicion of many, while it was looked on with horror by the majority of the people. Various reports were whispered abroad, and a meeting of some nobles took place at Dunkeld, at which the Earl of Caithness was present. Goaded on by imputations from the French Court, as well as from some of her own subjects, she consented to the trial of Bothwell. But although she gave her consent, her heart was not in the prosecution. She trusted that the trial would be a mere matter of form, and in this she was not disappointed. Bothwell appeared and answered to the charge, but no witnesses were brought against him. The Earl of Caithness was the Chancellor of the Jury, and, in the circumstances, the jury could not convict, as the Court in a corrupt time had made conviction impossible. According to Robertson, the historian, "the Earl of Caithness protested in their name," the jury, "that no crime should be imputed to them on that account, because no accuser had appeared and no proof was brought of the indictment." Subsequent events proved that the trial had been a sham one, and the conduct of the Earl of Caithness and other members of the nobility is not easily explained away. Shortly thereafter the Earl of Caithness, the Earl of Sutherland, and many others entered into a bond, in which they recommended Bothwell

"as a suitable husband for the queen, whose continuance in solitary widowhood they declared was injurious to the interests of the Commonwealth." Whatever motives may have actuated the nobles, there is no doubt that the whole transaction was looked upon by the people as one of an unprincipled character, to which the Queen was no doubt, directly or indirectly, a party. The Earl of Caithness was one of those who signed the letter of the Privy Council to the Queen-mother of France, which misrepresented the facts, and glossed over what had actually taken place. Notwithstanding that the Earl of Caithness had signed the bond wishing that the Queen should have been married to Bothwell, he was quite willing not many weeks or months thereafter to join with other people to free the Queen from the control of Bothwell, and, indeed, to join the party who had taken up arms to expel Bothwell from the Kingdom. The times were evidently uncertain, public policy was changeable, and the nobility had their own purposes to serve, so that they cannot be judged too harshly. Even under the government of the Regent Moray, the Earl of Caithness came more or less to the front. It would appear that he had considerable influence, for Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, observes that the "legislation, on the subject of religion," had been condemned among others by the Earl of Caithness.

After their marriage, the youthful Earl of Sutherland and Lady Barbara Sinclair took up their residence at Dunrobin Castle. For a time the Earl of Caithness took up his quarters there also, no doubt as guardian of the young Earl. The disposition of Lord Caithness was restless, as well as exceedingly imperious, and from the life of intrigue which he led, there was little chance of his living in peace, or in friendship, with those among whom his lot might be cast for any length of time. Further, there is little doubt of his having subordinated the interests of the family of Sutherland to that of his own clan. For this and other reasons he incurred the resentment of many of the inhabitants of Sutherland, such as the Murrays of Dornoch and the Gordons. It may be mentioned that the Earl of Athole had sold the wardship of the young Earl of Sutherland to the Earl of Caithness, or as Sir Robert Gordon in his History puts it: "Bot the Earle of Atholl, against the lawes of duety and freindship, maid his commoditie thereof (and which was wors), sold the same unto George, Earl of

Catteenes, Earle Alexander his greatest enemy, who with all his witt and might indevoored to mak his gain by this occasion, and to advance his own familie by the decay and ruyn of the House of Southerland." And Sir Robert characterises the marriage of the Earl of Sutherland, and Lady Barbara Sinclair as "ane unfit match, indeid, a youth of fyftene married to a woman of threttie-two yeirs."

It has been stated that while the Earl of Caithness resided at Dunrobin, that his actings were by no means of a prudent character, or such as to allay the suspicions of the retainers of the House of Sutherland. It has been even said that his treatment of the young Earl at Dunrobin was not what it ought to have been in the young Earl's own Castle—and further that the Earl of Caithness went the length of destroying many of the Sutherland charters, with the view of giving effect to some ultimate objects which he entertained at the time. It may be reasonably assumed that the Earl of Caithness expected an heir of the marriage of his daughter with the Earl of Sutherland, that would at no very distant date sway the destiny of the House of Sutherland. In this he was disappointed—for no child was born of the matrimonial alliance, and the wedded pair did not live happily—indeed it was well known that Lady Barbara Sinclair carried on a criminal intrigue with Mackay of Strathnaver. But Earl George was too persistent a man to be baulked in his efforts, or to relinquish any plan upon which he had set his mind. It is believed that he got Lady Margaret Gordon into his hands—a sister of Earl Alexander—and that he intended to make her the wife of his son, William Sinclair. But it was his first purpose to get Earl Alexander out of the way, in order that his son, William, and Lady Margaret Gordon might become Earl and Countess of Sutherland. Accordingly, the general details of the plan for the assassination had been arranged, and Earl George, to screen himself from all suspicion of participation in the plot, went to Edinburgh, so that the plan might be carried out in his absence.

The designs of the Earl of Caithness oozed out, or at least the Murrays and the Gordons were apprehensive that the life of the young Earl of Sutherland was not in safe keeping. Sir Robert Gordon writes that the Murrays and Gordons received secret intelligence of the "Earle of Catteenes, his intended designs, by

some who were maid privie to the bussines, they thought fitt to use all celeritie, the verie lyff of actions ; and thereupon they did assemble a company of resolute men with all possible dilligence, ingadging ther owne securitie, and hazarding their deirest saftie upon the uncertan chance of fortoun." The Murrays put themselves into communication with Earl Alexander, and in the silence of the night they arrived quietly at the Burn of Golspie, where Earl Alexander joined them. They immediately made their escape, and, on the flight becoming known, they were hotly pursued by the men of Earl George. On account of a severe storm at the ferry at Port-na-Couter, they were almost taken had they not risked their lives, but Sir Robert Gordon writes that "by the assistance of the Almighty God, they escaped that perrell." Earl Alexander proceeded straight to Strathbogie to the Earl of Huntly for protection.

The Laird of Duffus—the son-in-law of the Earl of Caithness—duly informed his lordship of what had happened. The wrath of the Earl knew no bounds. He was sadly grieved at the escape of his ward, and, being made aware that the Murrays were the agents in the liberation of Earl Alexander, he resolved to punish them as severely as circumstances would permit. He accordingly assembled the Caithness men at Wick, and placed them under the command of his eldest son, John Sinclair, Master of Caithness, who forthwith proceeded with them to Dornoch to attack the Murrays. Earl George's men were assisted by Mackay of Strathnaver with a body of followers. After much severe fighting, the Murrays were defeated, and some of them fled to the Castle and others betook themselves to the steeple of the Cathedral. The town was burnt. This was in the year 1570. Latterly, through the influence of several mediators, the Murrays surrendered on certain conditions, giving, at the same time, three of their principal men as hostages, that the arrangements come to by the Murrays would be faithfully carried out by them. The Master of Caithness and Mackay of Strathnaver agreed to the conditions of the Murrays. The Earl of Caithness, however, refused to confirm them, and he ordered the three hostages given by the Murrays to be put to death. The Laird of Duffus superintended the execution, and at a time when revenge was sweet, and much sought

after, the laird, in addition to obeying the behests of the Earl, had his own special grievances, for the Murrays had shortly before ravaged and destroyed his own lands and estate. The Master of Caithness and Mackay of Strathnaver, in the face of the agreement come to with the Murrays, repudiated all connection with the execution of the hostages, to such an extent that they roused the ire of the Earl, with whom they were never afterwards on terms of friendship. Sir Robert Gordon observes that the pledges were beheaded "against all humanitie, and the law of nations duellie observed among the greatest infidells." He also maintained that the parties engaged in the destruction of Dornoch through divine interposition came to a sad end shortly afterwards—the laird of Duffus having immediately sickened and died—and the Master of Caithness having been famished to death in Girnigoe Castle, by his own father, in "wofull captivitie."

After the flight of the Earl of Sutherland, and especially after the defeat of the Murrays, the Earl of Caithness made himself complete master of the possessions of Earl Alexander. All those who were friendly to the interests of Earl Alexander, or suspected of leanings in his favour, were driven out of the county. The Murrays dispersed in all directions—indeed, some of Earl Alexander's dependents went to Orkney, others to Strathbogie, and many to various quarters, hither and thither; but they all looked forward in hope to the day of deliverance—the day when Earl Alexander would attain majority, when they would return to the land of their forefathers. It was seen that the Earl of Caithness was making as much profit as he could out of Sutherland, and that to the injury and prejudice of Earl Alexander. The Earl of Huntly saw that the affairs of his friend were being ruined, and before Alexander attained majority a great amount of additional injury might be done. In order to have matters adjusted and put on an amicable footing, the Earl of Athole was sent to Sutherland to meet Earl George, but the latter was too astute and capable a man to be taken unaware. While willing outwardly to preserve the estate of his ward, he declined to resign his office, so that the Earl of Athole's mission was fruitless, the Earl of Caithness being determined to hold on to it as long as circumstances could permit him.

(To be continued.)

FUINEADAIR NA MANACHAINN.*

AIG Àm Blar Chuil-fhodair bha bantrach anns a' Mhanachainn aig an robh aon mhac d'am b' ainm Domhnall Friseal. Chaidh e comhladh ris na Frisealaich eile do 'n bhlar. Chaidh an ruaig air na reubalaich, agus theich Domhnall as cho luath agus a bheireadh a chasan e dhachaidh an Mhanachainn. Bha a mhathair bho chd toilichte fhaicinn air ais a rithist, gun mhaille, gun leon, gun lochd, slan fallain, bochd truagh acrach agus sgith mar a bha e. Bha eagal a bheatha air tamh oidhche a ghabhail am bothan a mhathar a thaobh gun robh an t-arm dearg air toir luchd-cabhair a' Phrionns, ged is ann leis a' chrois-tara no teine a chaidh a' chuid is mo dhe na Frisealaich iomain gu feachd oighre Mhorair Sim dhe 'n deach an ceann a thoirt. Bha e mar so na fhogarrach fad thri bliadhna thall agus a bhos a' gabhail comhnuidh anns na cnuic, na sluic, garbhach, coille, creag agus uamh a gheobhadh e eadar Loch-nam-bonnach agus Loch-nan-ian am braigh na Manachainn. La dhe na laithean, aig ceann nan tri bliadhna, ars' esan ri mhathair, "A bhean, tha mi sgith dhe mo bheatha; tha sinn a nis bochd agus lom gun bhiadh gun aodach. A dh-aindeoin na dh' fhaodas tighinn orm theid mi dh' fhiachainn am faigh mi cosnadh." "Chan fhalbh thu," ars' ise, "gus am faigh thu bonnach, agus beannachd do mhathar." Rinn i bonnach-Bealltainn da air chinn na maidne, agus thog e air le bonnach agus beannachd a mhathar, agus thug e Inbhir-Nis air. Ach cha d' fhuair e cosnadh no cosnadh anns a' bhaile sin. An sin thug e baile Inbhir-Narunn air agus fhuair e cosnadh an sin. Ghabh e cairtealan ann an tigh seann duine aig an robh aon leanabh nighinn. Togadar air Domhnall agus shin e air suirigh air an nighinn, agus phos e i. Ach oidhche na bainnse ge b' e ciod a thainig a stigh air inntinn Dhomhnaill dh' eirich e as a leaba, chuir e air aodach agus dh' fhag e an sud i. Ghabh e air aghaidh gus an d'

* This folk-tale was taken down by Dr. Corbet, Beaul, from the recitation of a farm servant (McCallum) at Bogroy. Dr. Corbet heard the story first some twenty-five years ago; it was repeated in Gaelic, he says, never in English, and the story appeared to be as old and as native as it represents itself to be. It belongs to the Ulysses or Penelope formula of folk-tales, and is parallel to the Irish "Merugud Uilix," reviewed in our last November number. We have taken the liberty of changing the Doctor's "bacstair" to "fuineadair," the proper Gaelic for "baker."

rainig e baile Chè far an d' fhiach e ri obair fhaighinn ach cha d'fhuair. Chaidh e ris gu baile Hundaidh, ach dh' fhairtlich air obair fhaighinn an sin. Ma dheireadh theab e bas an acrais fhaighinn, oir mir no deur cha d' fhuair mo laoch bho'n dh' fhag e Inbhir-Narunn. Cha robh air no dheth ach gum b' fheudar dha dol a shireadh na deirce. Chaidh e stigh do bhuth fuineadair agus thuirt e "An ainm Dhe thugaibh dhomh greim bidh, oir tha mi a faighinn bas an acrais." "Mir no deur chan fhaigh thu uamsa, a bheathaich ghrainde," ars' am fuineadair; "na'm bithinn a' toirt do na h-uile fear dhe do leithidse tha tighinn an rathad cha mhor a bhiodh agam dhomh fhein." "O," arsa Domhnall bochd, "na leigibh dhomh bas an acrais fhaighinn; thoiribh biadh dhomh agus ni mi rud sam bith a dh' iarras sibh orm." "Ciod e," ars' am fuineadair ris, "is urrainn duit a dheanamh." "Is urrainn," arsa Domhnall, "domh cosnadh a dheanamh" "Ach," ars' am fuineadair, "chan 'eil feum cosnaich orm, agus chan urrainn duit fuineadair a dhèanamh." "Ach nach gabhadh ionnsachduinn orm," arsa Domhnall. "Ghabhadh, gun teagamh," ars' am fuineadair, ach gabhadh tu seachd bliadhna ga h-ionnsachduinn." "Thoir dhomh biadh," arsa Domhnall ris, "agus 'sa mhaduinn is mise do ghille." Riarach e seachd bliadhna do 'n fhuineadair, agus aig ceann nan seachd bliadhna ars' am fuineadair ri Domhnall: "Tha mi ro bhuidheach ort. Riarach thu do thim gu h-onorach, 's an diu chan 'eil fios agam c' ait am beil fear ceaird nas fhearr na thu. Ach 's ann nach 'eil fios agam ciod a ni mi as t' easbhuidh. Ma thamhas tu agam airson seach bliadhna eile, bheir mi dhuit leithid so a dhuais [agus e cur ainm air] airson nan seachd bliadhna a dh' fhalbh agus an t-aon tuarasdal airson nan seachd bliadhna tha ri thighinn? Anns a' mhadaoinn deir Domhnall, "Is mise do ghille." Riarach e seachd bliadhna eile do 'n fhuineadair, agus chaidh na fir troimh 'n t-aon chainnt 's a bha eatorra aig ceann a chiad seachd bliadhna, ach gun deach da uiread a ghealltainn dha airson an treas seachd bliadhna 's a bha aig ri fhaighinn airson nan ceithir bliadhna diag a dh' fhalbh. Chord iad mar a b' abhaist, agus riarach Domhnall còir bliadhna ar fhichead do 'n fhuineadair. Aig crìoch an àm so ars' am fuineadair ri Domhnall: "Chuir thu nis ceann finid air na trì seachd bliadhna, agus ma riaracheas tu seachd bliadhna eile

dhomh, bheir mi uiread dhuit airson nan seachd bliadhna tha ri thighinn 's a tha agad ri fhaighinn airson a bhliadhna ar fhichead a dh' fhalbh." "Is mi nach tamh airson aon bhliadhna eile," arsa Domhnall. "Theid mi dhachaidh a choimhead mo mhnatha." "Do mhnatha!" ars' am fuineadair. "Anr beil bean agadsa? Is iongantach an duine thu. Tha thu an so nis bliadhna ar fhichead 's cha chualas riamh gun robh bean agad. Ach nis co dhiu 's fhearr leat na tri tuarasdalan na tri comhairlean." "O," deir Domhnall, "mus b' urrainn dhomh a' cheist sin fhreagairt, dh'fheumainn comhairle iarraidh o urra nas glice na mi fhein. Ach innsidh mi dhuit air chinn na maidne." Thainig Domhnall a nuas gu moch 'sa mhadainn mar a gheall e. "Ciod nis," dh' iarr an fuineadair dheth, "a tha thu dol a ghabhail, na tri tuarasdalan no na tri comhairlean?" "Tha," arsa Domhnall "na tri comhairlean." "Mata," ars' am fuineadair "is e a' chiad chomhairle, Cum an comhnuidh 'n rathad fada direach; an darna comhairle, Na tamh oidhche air chairtealan ann an tigh anns am bi bean òg bhriagh aig 'm bheil seana bhodach dreamach; agus an treas comhairle, Na tog do lamh gu brath gu duine sam bith a bhualadh, gus an smuainich thu ort fhein tri uairean. Agus so agad airgiod bheir dachaidh thu, agus tri builionnan arain; agus cuimhnich nach coimhead thu riu gus 'n toir thu o cheile iad gu 'm briseadh air gluin do mhnatha dh' fhiachainn an dean iad sith eadaraibh, oir le cho fada 's a tha thu air falbh chan 'eil fios am beo no marbh i no ciamar a ghabhas i riut. Thog Domhnall air airson baile Inbhir-Narunn, 's bha e gu bhi a chiad oidhche am baile Chè 's an ath-oidhche aig a dhachaidh. Air an rathad mhor eadar Hundaigh agus Cè, bheir e air ceannaich paca a chuir failte air agus a dh' fhoighnichd ris c'ait an robh e dol. Dh' innis Domhnall dha gun robh gu Cè. Thubhairt an ceannaich paca gun robh e ro thoilichte thaobh 's gun robh e fein dol an sin mar an ceudna 's gun deanadh an cnacas bhiodh eatorra an uine air an rathad mhor nas taitniche. Ghabh iad rompa gus an d' rainig iad gu coille. "Tha," ars' an ceannaich paca, "frith-rathadan troimh 'n choille so a bheir sin tri mile nas aithghiorra gu Cè na 'n rathad mor." "Gabh e, mata," arsa Domhnall. "Is daor a phaidh mi airson na chomhairle. Cumaidh mise 'n rathad mor." Ghabh an ceannaich paca rathad na coille ach cha deach e gle

fhada steach oirre nuair a chual Domhnall glaothh "Murt! Murt!" Chaidh e steach na choille thoirt furtachd do 'n cheannaich paca bha 'n deigh a bhi air spuilleadh le dithis fhear creachaidh. Thainig iad mach as a choille le cheile. "Tha thu faicinn nis math na comhairle," arsa Domhnall. "Tha thusa air do chreachadh. 'S math dhuit nach 'eil thu air do mhuirt, air chul an èis tha air a chur oirnn. Cha bhi sinn am baile Chè an nochd." Rainig iad tigh tuathanaich aig taobh an rathaid mhor, 's thaobh 's gun robh e anmoch 's iad treis o Chè chaidh iad steach a dh'fhiachainn am faigheadh iad cairtealan. Char sin a thoirt dhoibh agus fhuair iad baigheach geanaile cuideachd 'n tighe nan suidh aig teine mor far 'n d'fhuair iad deagh gharadh 's biadh gu leoir. Chunnaic Domhnall bean an tuathanaich, te òg bhriagh, ghreannar. Ach co thaing na deigh ach seana bhodach liath streamach, greannach. Agus nuair a thanig arsa Domhnall ris a cheannaich paca, "Cha thamh mise an so nas fhaide. 'S daor a phaidh mi airson na comhairle." "S cinnteach nach gabh thu 'n rathad mor mu'n trath-sa dh'oidhche," ars' an ceannaich paca. Mur tamh thu 'san tigh nach fhaod thu codal 'san t-sabhal?" Dh'aontaich Domhnall ri so, 's char e a laighe 'san t-sabhal le aodach air; muillean fodair airson cluasag fodh cheann; muillean fodha agus air a dha thaobh, agus muillean air uachdar, gun bhi ris dheth ach na 's gann bheireadh anail dha. Cha do chaidil e ceart nuair thainig dithis a steach far 'n robh e, 's shuidh iad air. Ana-cothromach mar a bha e bha feagal a bheatha air facal a chantainn, ach le siosair bha na phocaid ghearr e iomail cota an fhir bha suidheadh faisg air a cheann 's bha dol a steach na shuilean 's na bhial, 's chuir e a' bhideag na phocaid shioscot. B' e fear agus te a bha ann, 's shin iad air 'n t-suirigh gu cruaidh. Mu dheireadh thubhairt an te, "Is bochd nach robh 'm bodach chuirinn fhein tromh sgornan e." 'S ann mar so a bha. Agus nuair thainig Domhnall mach 'sa mhaduinn 's ann bha 'n ceannaich paca aig na h-earraidean, agus a lamhan air an glasadh, ga thoirt gu Obairadhan, airson murt an tuathanaich. 'Sa mhaduinn fhuair iad an tuathanach marbh agus a sgornan gearrta. Lean Domhnall iad gu Obairadhan; chaidh an ceannaich paca chur air bialaobh nam Morairean; chaidh dhiteadh, is chuir

am Morair a' churraic dhubh air gu binn crochaidh a thoirt a mach. Aig an àm so co dh'eirich 'sa chuir ach Domhnall, agus deir e, "A Mhorair, ma 's e bhur toil, am beil e ceadachta do neach sam bith nach deach a tharruing mar fhianuis labhairt 'sa chuir so?" "Ciod tha agad ri chantuinn?" dh'fheoirich am Morair dheth. Dh'innis Domhnall dha mar thachair 'san t-sabhal, 's dh'iarr e gun d'rachadh an duine bha suirigh air a bhantraich òg, bean an tuathanaich, a tharruing gu Cuirt, agus nach e an ceannaich paca bha gu dearbh cionntach, agus a thoirt leo do'n Chuir 'san eaidh bha air air la a' mhuirt, 's gun toireadh e dearbhachd dhoibh gur e fear a' mhuirt an duine. Chaidh am fear so a tharruing, 's nuair bha e 'san tigh Chuir air bialaobh a' Mhorair, dh'fhoighnich Domhnall an robh tailleur 'san tigh Chuir. "Tha," arsa fear agus e 'g eirigh ma choinne. "Fiach" arsa e ris an tailleur, "am beil criomaig air a ghearradh a iomal a' chota. "Tha," arsa an tailleur. Thug Domhnall a' bhideag a ghearr e o iomal a' chota a pocaid a shioscot, 's thug e i do'n tailleur, ag iarraidh air fiachainn am freagrachd i 'san easbhuidh. "Freagrachd, 's e an dearbh chriomaig chaidh ghearradh as a tha ann." "Dh'innis Domhnall a rithist mar a thachair. Agus char am fear agus an te a chrochadh airson a mhuirt so ann an baile Obaireadhan. Thog Domhnall air a rithist airson baile Inbhir-Narunn, gus am faiceadh e a bhean, ach mus an d'fhag e am baile cheannaich e dag, 's fudair, 's luaidh, "Gun fhios," arsa e, "ciod an t-olc a dh' fhaodas tachairt orm mus ruig mi ceann m' uidhe." Rainig an duine math Inbhir-Narunn fa dheoidh. B'e an oidhche bha ann. Ach is math a rinn e a mach tigh bean a' ghaoil. D'fhosgail e 'n dorus muigh 's chaidh e steach. Dh' aithnich e guth a mhnatha, agus i fhein agus fear eile trod. Lion e 'n dag gus am fear a thilgeil. Ach an so chuimhnich e air an treas chomhairle, "Na buail neach 's am bith gus an cuimhnich thu ort fhein tri uairean." Nuair a stad am fear dhe 'n trod shin a bhean is thubhairt i: "Thusa, bhradaidh, chan 'eil agam ach thu fhein agus 's beag toileachduinn bha agam riamh dhìot, na dheth t' athair romhad. Dh'fhag e mi oidhche a' phosaidh 's chan 'eil fhios am beo no marbh e. Ach dh'fhag e thus' na dheigh na d' eallach dh'am bheatha." Nuair chual e so bha e toilichte nach do thilg e mhac, 's char e steach far an robh iad, 's thug e na

buillionnan arain bhàn dhe dhruim 's bhrìst e air gluin a mhnatha iad. As a' chiad bhuillionn thainig a mach tuasrasdal a' chiad seachd bliadhna; as an dara buillionn tuasrasdal an dara seachd bliadhna; as an treas buillionn tuasrasdal an treas seachd bliadhna. An deigh so bha iad beo fada an cuideachd a cheile 's cho sona 's b'urraìn do mhuinntir iarraidh.

A JUBILEE WORK FOR GAELIC LITERATURE.

THE EDITING AND TRANSLATING OF THE GAELIC MSS. OF SCOTLAND.

THE following circular was drawn up by one or two enthusiastic Celtic scholars in Liverpool, where an attempt was made to start a fund of £200 to edit the valuable MSS. lying in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. We should be happy to receive practical suggestions in the matter and offers of contributions towards a fund. The following is the circular as amended for us:—

In the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh there is a collection of old Gaelic MSS. They were gathered in the last century by the Highland Society of London in order to afford material for the settlement of the Ossianic controversy then at its height. Naturally one would have expected them then to have been edited by Celtic scholars. The fact of their existence went far in those days: criticism was not yet born. The methods of settling their dates were unknown, and the work which was then necessary is still to do. Early in this century they passed into the hands of the Highland and Agricultural Society, who deposited them in the Advocates' Library.

They comprise the only collection of Gaelic MSS. in Scotland. Their value is twofold. First, whatever may be their contents, and this is vaguely known, they are of unique importance for the elucidation of Gaelic language and philology. They must record the changes that have passed over its structure and its vocabulary. Embedding probably tales and songs of a high antiquity, they range for the most part from the fourteenth to the

eighteenth century. Next, they will instruct to some extent the student of the early history of Scotland, who cannot feel that the materials of this history are before him, so long as these MSS. lie closed. The beginnings of Scottish History lie in the Celtic civilization that prevailed for many early centuries on both sides the sea—in Ireland and in Western and Northern Scotland. Their law, their institutions and customs, their church, their poetry, their tales were identical. The ecclesiastical side of this history—Ninian and St. Patrick and Columba, the White House and Armagh and Iona—has always kept the interests and inquiries of students. It is not so generally known that there is no literature in Europe which records for so long a time and so closely the continuous advances in civilization of a single people. The popular story carried by the Celts to the West on the separation of the Indo-European stocks has lived on with the tenacity of the race upon the lips of the people: and such MSS. keep the record of its varying incidents as they took shape and colour from the Celtic paganism, the Celtic christianity and the Celtic chivalry—the whole passage of a people into modern times.

Dr. W. F. Skene, Historiographer Royal for Scotland, perhaps the first authority on Celtic history in this land, drew up some twenty years ago a rough catalogue of the most important of these MSS. Meanwhile there has been a great advance in Celtic scholarship due almost wholly to foreign students; and Dr. Skene is now desirous of seeing his catalogue superseded by a complete edition. The whole influence of the Celtic civilization in the Scotland of history has yet to be estimated.

It is proposed now that Professor Mackinnon, of Edinburgh University, and Dr. Kuno Meyer, Lecturer at the University College, Liverpool, should be asked to edit these MSS., into which they have already made researches. It is hoped that there are many gentlemen interested in Celtic studies who would without much ado take their share in the achievement of a work which would wipe out the reproach of a dull neglect of our ancient literature which has lain too long upon our country, by bringing back into the light the literature which brightened the days of our fathers long ago, and cast the characteristic mould in which the spirit of their sons has been fashioned.

REVIEWS.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS. THE
MIS-RULE OF HENRY III., edited by Rev. W. H. Hutton.
EDWARD III. AND HIS WARS, edited by W. J. Ashley.
London : DAVID NUTT.

These two neat little volumes form the beginning of a series which aims at setting forth the facts of English history, political and social, in quite-a novel way. To each period of English history is to be devoted a little volume, made up of extracts from the chronicles, state papers, memoirs and letters of the time, as also from other contemporary literature. The whole is chronologically arranged, and chosen so as to give a living picture of the effect produced upon each generation by the movements, political, religious, and social, in which it took part. For the sake of the general reader, the old spelling is modernised, and all works and documents in foreign tongues are translated into English. Consequently the books will read with almost the same ease as a modern writer, while the quaint flavour of antiquity will not be lost. When needed, a glossary is to be appended, but in the volumes before us none such has been found necessary. An account of the writers, whose works are quoted, is given, and there are numerous illustrations, chosen in the same spirit as the text. "The chief aim of the series," says Mr. York Powell, the editor of the series, "is to send the reader to the best original authorities, and so to bring him as close as may be to the mind and feelings of the times he is reading about." The plan is an excellent one, and we sincerely hope some Scotch publisher of spirit will follow Mr. Nutt's lead, and issue a like series bearing on the history of Scotland.

There is no definite chronological system of issue adopted, and the two volumes before us deal with periods one hundred years apart. "The Misrule of Henry III., 1236-1248," covers an important period in English constitutional history, but the volume on "Edward III. and His Wars, 1327-1360," is the one that most

directly concerns Scotland. Here the very second extract brings before us the escapades of the Scots on the Borders under Lord James Douglas at the end of Robert Bruce's reign. Jehan le Bel accompanied King Edward's army, and describes the march, the country, the Scots, and the campaign with a clearness and vividness that would put any modern war correspondent to shame. The celebrated incident where Douglas cut his way at night with two hundred men into the English camp and reached the King's tent is described in this matter-of-fact way: "And suddenly he brake into the English host about midnight, crying 'Douglas! Douglas! ye shall all die, thieves of England;' and he slew or seized 300 men, some in their beds and some scant ready; and he strake his horse with the spurs and came to the King's tent, always crying 'Douglas!' and strake asunder two or three cords of the King's tent and so departed." The death of King Robert the Bruce, the speech on his deathbed, and Douglas' journey to Spain and his death there is given from the same authority, and the whole makes an unaffected and pathetic story. Black Agnes' defence of Dunbar is graphically told from the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, and the disasters that overtook King David at Neville's Cross are taken from the same Chronicle, while the amusing incident of Douglas breakfasting at Tynemouth, not as conqueror, as he said he would, but as captive, is extracted from the *Chronicle of St. Albans*, which relates it with grave religious unction. Altogether editors and publishers are to be congratulated on this novel departure in the writing and study of history.

NOTES AND NEWS.

It was intended at the Dingwall Teachers' Meeting in June to discuss the Highland Minute and its results in the actual working of it, but time pressed. Some phases of the subject, however, were brought forward in the discussions that took place on the papers read, and a statement or rather an argument was put forward by Dr. Ross, of which more notice should be taken than has hitherto been done. He said that, for the particular wants of a district like the Highlands, training colleges should be instituted for itself, and he suggested Inverness and Oban as proper centres. This proposal on the part of Dr. Ross is highly unselfish, for it would mean that he and his brother principals of the Southern training colleges would lose all the Highland pupil teachers and others who wished to undergo training, though alas! at present the number is but few. The fact is that Dr. Ross's suggestion touches a rather wide question: for it is a well-known fact that the training colleges are mostly filled by town pupil teachers, who, on account of the superior facilities in getting training and education, beat the pupil teachers from the country in the entry examinations. The latter, generally of greater ability though worse educated and trained, have to try "and try again" the July examinations, and many are so disheartened that they give up the profession, and thus rather late in their life turn to some other occupation. And in the Highlands the evil is intensified by remoteness and by the existence of the Gaelic language. We are glad to see that Dr. Ross is willing to allow marks for Gaelic, and if this be done it will be necessary to erect training colleges in the North for the special behoof of Northern P.T.'s, where they can be trained to the same point of perfection as their southern rivals, and thus suffer no loss of prestige in the educational market by taking a subject which is outside the general curriculum considered necessary for the United Kingdom. We commend this idea of training colleges at Inverness and Oban to the serious attention of those who have at heart the interest of Highland education, the welfare of the Highland people, and the recognition of the Gaelic language as an instrument of culture and a power in the training and education of the coming race. Besides, the money spent in the South at present on the education of teachers for the Highlands would then be spent in the Highlands itself, an argument that should strongly appeal to a community inclined towards Home Rule.

THE Capital of the Highlands honoured itself as well as the occasion by getting the National Anthem in Gaelic sung on the Exchange on Jubilee Day. The translation used, though none of the smoothest, was sung with great power and admirable effect. Copies of the verses, in English and Gaelic, were previously distributed among the multitude. Along with a few other things that Highlanders want they stand much in need of a native *national song*. Translations are rarely satisfactory.

Mélusine, a French periodical which appears on the 5th of each month, edited by MM. Gaidoz and Rolland, and devoted to mythology, folk-lore, and folk-literature, has, in the June number, a short but appreciative notice of the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. M. Gaidoz begins his critique by saying: "Ce nouvel annuaire de la Société Gaélique d'Inverness est beaucoup plus volumineux que les précédents et la valeur intrinsèque de ses articles, notamment de MM. Mackinnon et Alexandre Macbain, en rehausse l'importance." This Society, he adds, henceforward takes its place among the first literary Societies of Celtic countries.